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my aforementioned to neutral places, but from one place belonging to an enemy, to another place belonging to an enemy, whether they be under the jurisdiction of the same prince, or under several. And it is now stipulated concerning ships and goods, *that FREE ships shall also give FREEDOM to goods*, and that every thing shall be deemed free and exempt, which shall be found on board the ships belonging to either of the confederates, although the whole lading, or any part thereof, shall pertain to the enemies of either; and excepting the contraband of war, and ports actually blockaded,

THE ADDRESS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF IRELAND, TO HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS OF WALES, ON HER ESCAPE FROM THE CONSPIRACY.

"May it please your Royal Highness,

"We, the Roman Catholic People of Ireland, beg leave to offer our unfeigned congratulations on your providential escape from the Conspiracy which so lately endangered both your life and honour; a Conspiracy, unmanly in its motives, unnatural in its object, and unworthy in its means; a Conspiracy, combining so monstrous an union of Turpitude and Treason, that it is difficult to say, whether Royalty would have suffered more from its success, than Human Nature has from its conception! Our allegiance is not less shocked at the infernal spirit which would sully the Diadem, by breathing on its most precious ornament the Virtue of its Wearer, than our best feelings are at the inhospitable baseness, which would betray the innocence of a Female, in a Land of Strangers!!

"Deem it not disrespectful, illustrious Lady, that, from a people proverbially ardent in the cause of the defenceless, the shout of virtuous congratulation should re-

ceive a feeble echo. Our Harp has been long unused to tones of gladness, and our hills but faintly answer the unusual accent. *Your* heart, however, can appreciate the silence inflicted by SUFFERING; and *ours*, alas! feels, but too acutely, that the commiseration is sincere, which flows from SYMPATHY.

"Let us hope, that, when congratulating VIRTUE in your Royal Person, on her signal triumph over the perjured, the profligate, and the corrupt, we may also rejoice in the completion of its consequences. Let us hope, that the society of your *only child* again solaces your dignified retirement, and that, to the misfortune of being a WIDOWED WIFE, is not added the pang of being a CHILDLESS MOTHER!

"But if, Madam, our hopes are not fulfilled, if, indeed, the cry of an indignant and unanimous people is disregarded, console yourself with the reflection, that, though your exiled Daughter may not hear the precepts of Virtue from your lips, she may, at least, study the practice of it in your example."

MERITS OF SAMUEL WHITBREAD,

Extracted from an Address to her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, from the inhabitants of the town of Bedford.

"We feel no common exultation in being the electors of a representative to the British Parliament, who has taken a prominent part in vindicating the insulted honour of your Royal Highness; while his exertions claim our gratitude, they do not excite surprise; for, wherever innocence is to be defended; oppression counteracted; the liberty and interest of the country supported; or the welfare and happiness of mankind pleaded; there we look for him among the foremost, and we have never been disappointed."

MONTHLY RETROSPECT OF POLITICS.

ON the 24th ult. the Catholic relief bill, as it is called, was abandoned for the present session of Parliament; and on the 25th, as if it were to appear that no time was to be lost, leave was moved for a revival of the statutes which prevented improper persons from having arms in Ireland. The motion was made by the Irish secretary,

who is ludicrously denominated "orange peel," and who in his diplomatic career, transferred over as he is from Lord Lieutenant to Lord Lientenant, until there be an open for a more permanent station, will probably excuse this harmless play of words in a people light-hearted and loose-tongued in the midst of all their misery. But Ireland is (and we may add is likely to continue) in that state of barbarism and ferociousness which requires the strong hand of the law, and measures even *more decisive* than the present to maintain public tranquillity and private safety; "the necessity of the measure must apologize for its introduction so ungracious as to the time, and so indecorous in its coincidence with the rejection of the bill." In this discussion the Irish members in opposition seemed to have acquiesced both in the prescribed line of public policy, and the truth of the facts brought to support it. One of these *facts*, as they are always called, relative to a lawless banditti of fifty having attacked at night with fire-arms the prison of Limerick, and rescued a man confined on a charge of murder, has met with a flat contradiction in the news-paper of the same place, which positively asserts there was no such thing happened as an attack upon the gaol of Limerick.

But notwithstanding this sort of periodical exposition or exposure of the state of Ireland which *so conclusively* evinces the vigilance of government, and will *so naturally*, after a proper time, call forth an adequate reward for such meritorious service in the proper management of this turbulent island; we do allow that, clipping away much professional embellishment, and much official exaggeration, there is too frequent an occurrence of crimes destructive of the peace and settle-

ment of well-ordered society. And it is therefore we lament, that from time to time there are always found pretences for postponement in the effectual, permanent, and radical cure of such maladies as belong not so much to society as to *system*, not so much to bad nature as bad habit. It is therefore we lament that a spirit of exasperation is thus naturally diffused through all classes, while the lowest orders, although far from meeting with the least positive encouragement to acts of licentiousness and disorder, are certainly not repressed by the class immediately superior, and most closely connected with them, with the same power and effect which would be exerted, were these superior classes perfectly conciliated, adopted into the privileges, and embodied with the powers of the constitution, were political powers employed for the more perfect settlement and organization of the civil community.

In short, we will assert that the great evil in Ireland, as in India, is rooted in the state and condition of the people, and that the cure of this national, and systematic malady will most certainly, though not immediately result as the consequence of Catholic emancipation. It is this measure alone which can raise the moral value of Ireland from its deplorable depreciation. "When they found the means of honest employment they would not resort to the commission of crimes to which they were driven by hard necessity." So it has been well said with regard to the Hindoos, and so it is with the Irish. *Their* habits also are fixed, only from the permanent pressure of their wants, from poverty on the one hand, and strong government on the other; from the same motives and feelings as other men, and the same disposition to enjoyment not meeting or being likely to

meet with the same encouragement ; from the incapability of bettering their situation, and of consequence finding no personal interest in the peace of the vicinage, or the protective order of society, but rather deriving a fierce delight in petty broils and quarrels, and listening with gloomy satisfaction to the likelihood of national disturbance. "I like this rocking of the battlements" said the unhappy prince, his kingdom lost, his father slain, habited like a slave and maltreated by a blow; "I like," said Zanga, in the corrosion of his soul, "this raging of the storm and this rocking of the battlements."

What ? Alonzo ! could you ever conceive that *this* man would be your faithful follower, one of your guard of honour, your well-wisher, and your friend ? He is a man ; and as he is used, or *abused*, becomes the best of creatures, or the worst. Has the dark adder venom ? so has he. Make haste to atone for your injurious and insulting treatment. Kindle the spark of divinity which lies nearly extinct in his bosom. Take him by the right hand, and be not ashamed to say, "*forgive me*, I overcame you and yours in battle, but I am not on that account to set my foot upon you during my lifetime. Enjoy life with me, and by this means add to *my own* enjoyment. Advance your own interests, and you will infallibly advance *mine*. Is there no value in the produce of gratitude and friendship, the willing heart and working hand, and can I reap so much from wretched subsistence, and precarious subjection ? Cast away every link of that penal code. Sit down with me my friend and brother, and believe me I will not suspect you, even while I embrace you, or exact from you any oath, that while it holds out confidence and conciliation, insults your

religion, and defames your moral character."

The best, preventative against crimes and outrages too common in this country (and prevention is better than punishment) must be sought for, in that general constitutional inter-communion of political privileges, which will gradually transfuse another *temper* into society. Catholic emancipation is said to be an object of little moment to the lowest classes, but this we by no means believe would prove to be the case. The Catholic body compressed by misfortune, and closely connected by religion, is *consentaneous* throughout all its parts ; and ill-humour in the superior class is propagated in a thousand ways, till in the lowest it often vents itself in outrage which calls for special commissions, and penal bills, and the interference of the petty Mr. Peele, who may disarm the hands of the inhabitants, but the great object is to disarm their *hearts* ; to conquer their evil intentions ; and better than a circumvallation of securities which often are *turned* or *masked* in periods when defence is most required, to depend on concession to the upper order as in itself the best security from the irregularities of the lowest ; and thus by the practice as well as profession of conciliation, to reduce that *anarchy* of separate views and interests, which has for so long a period been the true description of Ireland, into the organization and due subordination of regular and rational government.

We cannot find much prospect of this happy result in the report that on the 27th ult., three days after the rejection of the bill, a meeting of political men* (very politi-

* A Grand Orange Lodge was yesterday held at Lord Kenyon's, when some distinguished personages were admitted

cal!) was assembled on the invitation of the Earl of Yarmouth favourite of that Prince (who has been said on no mean authority, to have given at three different times, to three different noblemen, the most distinct pledges of his resolution, whenever he came into unrestricted power, that he would befriend the Catholic enfranchisement,) on the requisition of the Earl of Yarmouth, the personal friend of the Regent, to consider of the establishment of an Orange Club, on the principles of the Orangemen of Ireland†. We

members. The Orange institution promises to become universal throughout the empire.—*Morning Post*.

The Duke of York it is reported is to be Grand Master of the Orange Lodges in Great-Britain.—*Courier*.

† To show in what manner the more independent portion of the news-paper press in England treat the subject of the projected Orange Societies in that country, we select the following specimen from the English papers; the language breathes something of the ancient spirit of English liberty, now so much in danger of becoming extinct.

"We did not think it possible that the execrable plan of instituting Orange Lodges in England would be persevered in, had we not seen a paragraph stating that the members had actually met at the house of a noble Lord distinguished by the bigotry of his notions. A writer in one of the papers truly says, The natural, and perhaps the intended consequence of setting on foot these associations, would be to produce counter-associations still more violent; and we should presently find banditti of all sorts high and low, organized into conflicting parties of *White-Boys*, *Peep-of-day Boys*, *Defenders*, &c. &c., until despotism itself became a relief from the horrors of club-government. We certainly do look upon the infatuated and ignorant Luddites, the poor wretches who perished on the gallows, or were transported from Nottingham and Chester, as innocent in comparison with the proposers of this horrible plan. We should rather say, the proposer; for we hope and trust that there is but one indi-

lie so much at the mercy of news-paper authority, that it is hard to believe such reports, and equally hard to believe there can be malignity so great as to fabricate them. The rumour has, therefore, probably some foundation, and with respect to the time chosen for throwing up this parcel of Congreve rockets, we would presume to ask, is it done for the purposes of conciliation or for conflagration? Is it to keep the country of Ireland in a smooth and serene expectancy of internal union and reconciliation in the next session of Parliament; or is it, in the intervening time, to make anarchy, if we may term it so, the order of every day, and by countenancing the main-spring of domestic outrage, to instigate evil intention, and thus become accessory before the criminal fact? At this very moment we hear of wanton atrocities, and unprovoked outrage, committed through the licentious loyalty of certain Orangemen on his Majesty's Catholic subjects in the County of Monaghan; and is it while the legislature may be said to be *pendulating* upon the final issue and determination of the Catholic question, a few grains only wanting to turn the balance in an opposite direction, is it, at this time, these Irish absentees are to disturb the quiet settling of the scales, and to draw down their own scale, by craftily placing under it the magnet of sinister influence?

Had William the 3d lived at the present hour, he would have taken the Orange declaration, and torn it, and stamped upon it with his foot. He came to deliver us from tyranny in all shapes; of a Prince over the people, or of fellow-subjects over

vidual who can so thoroughly combine all that is weak and confused in the head, with all that is black and malignant in the heart."

each other, a more cruel subjection. Born and educated in a land created by freedom, he inherited from his glorious ancestors, the love of religious and civil liberty, but wholly absorbed in the great task of emancipating Europe from the tyrant of that day, to which object he wished to make even his new dignity subservient, he was at times blind-folded and led astray against his better reason, by the factions and parties of his court. Yet his hand was still the pledge of honour, as his heart was the altar of freedom. He said, and it was done. He promised, and he performed. And had not his own noble nature been the best instructor, how many lessons did the Stuart race hold out to all their successors of the fatal effects of insincerity.

The division on the Catholic Bill is, we think, auspicious to the future success of this most effective security to the Protestant establishment. A minority that must have displaced any *minister* from his seat, will surely be at length able to place the *people* in their proper station. It is inconceivable, that the difference of four or half a dozen of members, will be able to maintain itself for any length of time against the pressure of the times, and the still increasing impulse of public opinion. It appears, that 318 members of the House of Commons have given their decided opinion in favour of the Catholic claims; that 27 members have declined resisting their claims; and that, therefore, suppose all the remaining members to be opposed to them, a majority of the house still remains committed in their favour. It is, therefore, with reasonable confidence in success, that Mr. Grattan gave notice of his resolution early next session to bring in a Bill for the relief of the Catholics of Ireland; and we venture to prophesy, should

the casting vote on this occasion be given by the Speaker, that Mr. Abbot, the great Alpha beta of the Protestant ascendancy, will give his voice for the full and final freedom of the Catholics of Ireland. The good truth is, that the tide of the times is every day and every hour rising higher and higher above withstanding obstacles; there is, no doubt, a flux and re-flux, but still the ocean of public opinion progressively advances, and when we contemplate the swell of the surge, we consider Mr. Abbot as a pebble on the shore.

Public opinion, increasing always in liberality, and illumination, must be represented either in the house or out of the house. Mr. Canning, with great sagacity, wishes "to let disquietude and dissatisfaction find a vent *in* the house, that *he* might meet it, that *they* might discuss it, instead of its *being agitated out of doors.*" And does this man think, that in the House of Commons, as *at present* constituted, the great public will quietly repose their opinions, their senses, their knowledge of right and wrong? He says, "Let these demagogues and agitators find their way into Parliament, and let us meet them face to face, and *here* I shall put them down." Aye, Mr. Canning, we doubt not, an orator like you, who exerts legs, arms, and voice against Parliamentary Reform, would chuse *all* the democracy of the country to be collected, and concentrated into *two or three* demagogue members, that you, amidst the acclamations of the house, might sabre them with your sarcasms, and show how little you regarded such men as Horne Tooke, or Sir Francis Burdett, for to *such men* you make your allusion. But, first, let there be fair play, not, as now, in a circle all your own, but in a house of the people, a house which would not

conspire to hustle such a man as Horne Tooke, as it once strove to cough down a Henry Flood, and would do the same to a John Milton, or a John Locke, were they now to sit in Parliament. Let the representatives of the people be heard in the HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE, and we promise you, you shall not be so disturbed, as you profess yourself to be, by demagogues out of doors. But until then, all your manual or mental powers will not prevent the manifestation of general sentiment; until that sentiment be adequately represented in the practice of the constitution, and then perhaps these demagogues and agitators out of doors, that so much alarm you, will be at rest.

"*Agitators*" indeed! The spade, and the harrow, and the plough, are *agitators*; but do they not, by that means, promote the cultivation of the earth? The instrument that mixes the *pure air* with the other materials, which, in consequence of this admixture, become capable of whitening and beautifying our cloth, and removing from it every stain, and impurity, this, we believe, is called an *agitator*. And, let alone *material machinery*, is there no benefit which has been derived from moral and political agitators? What was Bishop Berkley in his *Querist*, and Dean Swift in his *Drapiers Letters*, (those singular sons of the Church,) but *agitators* of their day, men who attempted to embody that principle of resistance which lies in public opinion, and to awaken the *slumbering authorities* of the state? What was even the George Canning of *his* day, who penned the poetical epistle from Lord Russell, on the eve of his execution, to his friend Lord Cavendish, and which survived some time by its spark of enthusiasm, rather than its poetical merit; what was the father of *this* George Cann-

ing but an *agitator*, while his son, pushed up by accidental connexions, into a sort of political eminence, desires nothing so much as to get the demagogues of the country considered by him as the tigers and wild boars of the forest, all driven into the *pen* of Parliament, that so, he and his party, as the Kings and Queens of Spain used to do in their royal sport, might discharge his air-gun of oratory upon them thus surrounded, and bring them down, safely and at his leisure.

No, no; while the House of Commons continues constituted as it is, let public spirit and patriotism range abroad, in the wide and open campaign, and not be taken in the toils; nor can we help our secret belief, that unless a reform in the representation should quickly follow Catholic introduction, their free spirit will soon be tamed, or if they should continue fierce and sturdy, they will only exhibit a sort of *bull fight* for the entertainment of the crowded benches, while every little matador of the monarchy will cast his javelin at them, until the grand knight, accoutred at all points, and mounted on his charger, thinks proper to draw the shining blade which is to cut them down at a single stroke, while the assembly rings with clamorous applause, and Mr. Canning exclaims over his fallen enemy, with his usual aptness of classical quotation, "*Procumbit humi Bos.*"

Give us our rights, we mean those of the whole people, for Catholic emancipation, important as it may be thought by those mainly interested in the success of the measure, is subordinate to the great cause of Reform, and included in it; *GIVE us, we say, OUR RIGHTS*, and you shall not be pestered with demagogues. The sense of the people will then be represented as it ought to be, and where it ought to be, and

then no Orange Association will dare to lift its head in the very centre of the Empire, with its oath of secret conspiracy, and its oath of *conditional* allegiance, yet with members, at the same time, in the height of aristocratical arrogance, demanding additional oaths of security from the already sworn Catholics, and doubting of the safety of the state which they are themselves undermining. All particular associations manifest the weakness, we will venture to say, of strong government.

When government is fairly and impartially administered, when its authorities are constituted according to the principles and intendment of the constitution, such tumultuary assemblages, either of peers or of populace, either of the oppressors or of the oppressed, will quickly be dissolved in a well ordered and well satisfied community. And let us tell our Catholic brethren, that if (and stranger things have happened) they should fail in their next attempt, notwithstanding the best wishes of the most enlightened portion of the Empire, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of that strong, but very strange triumvirate, Grattan, Canning, and Castlereagh! by a little borough-monger manœuvring, by the *ratting*, repeated, not of a dozen, but two or three dozen of members suddenly seized with Anti Catholic horrors, if such an event should occur on the next presentation of their petition, we should hope our dear countrymen will then speak and act from the conviction, that the restoration of their rights, the regeneration of the constitution, and the salvation of the Empire, must find a simultaneous accomplishment. And we own it sincerely, as often as their hopes are disappointed, we derive some consolation, that such a salutary and necessary conviction as we have just stated, and which is indeed the rally-

ing point for all well-principled men of all persuasions, will be the end and consummation of their political conduct, as it will prove the glory of their personal character.

It is, no doubt, one advantage of the protraction of the bill, that it has given occasion for respectable *bodies of men* as well as individuals, to come forward, although of different religious persuasion, in the defence of their fellow-citizens under political persecution, covered as it has been with the pretence of loyalty to the constitution. The public, by this means, becomes more assimilated in all its parts upon this great question, and the general will, in consequence, becomes more ripe and mature for an ultimate decision. We have just heard of one religious *establishment* in the Empire rejecting an Anti-Catholic petition, and voting for another decidedly favourable to religious freedom in its full and unqualified extent, (May 27th,) and although we can scarcely expect that the other religious *establishments* should ever meet in *convocation* to do aught that is imagined, although most falsely, would diminish the distribution of the "loaves and fishes*," we yet do not despair of seeing assemblages of church of England clergymen magnanimous enough to follow up the national declaration of Scotland, and the pure precedent set by their own, and our own Bishop of Norwich.

Thus, repulse in the House has only augmented the popularity of

* TOLERATION A LA TOMLINE.

Papists, throughout our King's dominions,
 Freely enjoy your own opinions,
 Adore the Virgin, kneel to crosses,
 Fearless from us of pains and losses ;
 Swallow transub—strict to the letter,
 Swear that the Pope is heir to Peter,
 Worship your God as suits your wishes,
But dare not touch our loaves and fishes !

of the Catholic claims. Even that church, which, under the guidance of that son of thunder, John Knox,* became the public reformer of the kingdom in matters of political liberty, as well as in the just defence of the Protestant Presbyterian religion; that church, which, in the bitterness of its battle against the Romish yoke, adopted some of the principles at the time justly attributed to its antagonist, and declared toleration itself "*sinful and ungodly*," that *commonwealth church*, which, in its very cradle, was always ready, through the mouth and pen of the Scottish Luther, to repress aristocratical tyranny, to awaken the mass of the people to a due sense of their rights, and in their own words "to keep the bond and contract mutual and reciproque in all tymes betwixt the Prince and God, and also betwixt the *Prince* and faithful *People*," but which, at the same time, became *itself* intolerant if not persecuting in matters of religion; that reformed church has not made a dead stop, but has wisely gone forward in the true principles of national reform, religious and political, has kept pace with the march of mankind, has infused a spirit of moderation into their councils, correspondent to the spirit of the times, and not like its neighbour establishment, blown loud blasts of the trumpet when no enemy was near, nor danger to be apprehended. Reformation is still in necessary progression. The church wants it. The state requires it. And the discussion of the Catholic question taken under all its bearings, scatters as from the hand of the husbandman the seeds of reform in the different religious persuasions, as well as in civil polity, seeds that are quick in growth, and soon ready for the reaper.

Let those that keep up an inveterate opposition to the Catholic claims, be assured that the revolution of public opinion, is in reality *accelerated* by their resistance. They are the indirect agents of reform. They shut the doors of Parliament; but Mr. Canning omnifarious in his knowledge, is surgeon enough to tell them, that if they continue their restrictions, if they put a ligature round this great vessel of circulation in the body politic, nature still will have its way, a push will be made on the anastomosing branches, and though for a time, the limb is cold and torpid, the heat soon revives, the colour comes, the strength returns as before, and the use of the vessel is *dispensed with*, and *superseded*. In the debate on the Curate's bill, Lord Ellenborough, a high authority, has told us "that the moral habits of mankind had been, in general, much improved within the last twenty years. This said he, had been in a great measure effected by that calamitous scourge which had so long ravaged Europe, by that monster who was now on the banks of the Elbe." Now though we do not altogether agree with his Lordship as to the cause, (for there are many) we are willing to acknowledge the fact, and to add a greater diffusion of political knowledge, a more general insight into the rights and duties of men under civil government, a vigorous vegetation that, generalizing more than his Lordship has done, we think has germinated upon the *lava* of the French Revolution. A revulsion of human concerns, which, in its origin was most auspicious to the best hopes of the human-kind; in its progress was accompanied with their worst fears; but which, in its consequences, scarcely yet in any

* X. has not, for some time past, had leisure to remember H., but he shall have a reply.

full developement. will, we trust in God who created man after his own image, be yet displayed and expanded in the large increase and heavy harvest of human happiness, the consequence of wise forecasting governments reforming themselves, and by that means more than any other, reforming, meliorating, and moralizing their people, without interfering with their creeds or their catechisms.

Another great use in the protraction, for a short time, of the Catholic bill, is, that all its friends, that is, all who are not in obstinate hostility to the *principle* of emancipation, will have leisure to compare their sentiments, to show the validity of their objections, and by honourable compromise, to model a bill that will be agreeable to the Catholic mass in Ireland, as well as to the comparatively trifling number in England, as well as to the knot of Protestant gentlemen who undertook, first with a trio of Protestant lawyers, and next with the assistance of Mr. Canning and Lord Castlereagh, to compose such an olla podrida as would be swallowed most glibly by both hierarchy and laity, without however communicating with either on the subject, or if it did, merely in the shape of casual correspondence of Mr. Canning with Doctor Troy, carried on by the former with all the hauteur of a British minister of foreign affairs, entering on the basis of negotiation with the enemies of Great-Britain.

The clauses of security are declared by the assembled prelates of the Catholic church in Ireland, to be incompatible with their discipline, and with the free exercise of their religion, and that they cannot accede to such regulations without the guilt of schism. We are not qualified in any degree to give our opinion on a point of which the hier-

chy of the Catholic church are the best and exclusive judges. But we should imagine that no such change as these clauses must operate upon the discipline of that church, could take place without the concurrence and approbation of the Pope. Whether in the present durance of the head of the church he could transfer the power of approbation to a legate, or to a commission, it is not for us to say; but certainly it is evident, that the committee appointed for drawing up the bill have neither been fully apprised of the state of the Catholic church, nor of the sense of the Catholic laity, in *this* part of the empire. We do not meddle with the determination of the ecclesiastics, but it is to the unconstitutional tendency of the whole *machinery* introduced into the bill, which we consider merely as a manœuvre to increase the power and patronage of the crown, this is the valid ground of objection by the Catholic as well as Protestant laity who have any regard to the constitution, or the fragment of Irish independence.*

The prelates of Ireland are ready to swear that they will never concur in the appointment or consecration of any Bishop whom they do not conscientiously believe to be of unimpeachable loyalty and peaceable conduct;" and further, "that

* We, who hold peculiarly sacred the right of private judgment, are incompetent to appreciate THE CRIME OF SCHISM, but on political grounds, we rejoice in the rejection of the bill on account of the securities, as they are mistakenly denominated, which were demanded. The creation of the board to overawe the appointment of bishops would have materially increased the patronage and corrupt influence of the government. The policy of demanding oaths is bad. It is retaining suspicion in the midst of *apparent* concession.

they have not, and will not have any correspondence or communication with the chief pastor of their church, or with any person authorized to act in his name, for the purpose of overthrowing or disturbing the Protestant government, or the Protestant church of Great-Britain and Ireland, or the Protestant church of Scotland as established." Now we think we might safely put it to the private consciences of every man in the empire, always excepting Dr. Duigenan, whether, *if* any thing more be necessary than the common oath of allegiance, this voluntary offer of an oath from the prelacy of Ireland be not sufficiently explicit, were it not, we say *were it not* for the latent political purpose (religion is but the pretext,) of making the Catholics of this country a ministerial convenience; first, through an operation on their distinguished laity, and through that medium on their superior clergy, and so on through the lower ramifications, until a man's boots would, at every step from the top of the board-room stairs down to the very bottom, creak nothing but the repetition of job—job—job! till he had got out of the precincts of the castle.

A *political* schism seems to be threatened between the English Catholics, and the Catholics of Ireland; the first resigning themselves pretty much to the sentiments of the committee for drawing up the defunct bill, and to the advice of Mr. Butler of Lincoln's Inn. They are a self-elected representation of a comparatively small number, individually respectable, officially unimportant, and they seem to have misled the Protestant committee, or been misled by that committee, into precipitate and premature expressions of satisfaction without making common cause, and concurrent procedure with the Catholics of Ireland. They

have rejected from their meeting Dr. Milner, who was the accredited agent of the Catholic prelature, and who either anticipated or coincided with that prelacy in their unanimous protest against the ecclesiastical securities of the bill; a protest which was sanctioned by the general board of the Catholics of Ireland, and on the 15th inst. by the aggregate meeting of the Catholics of Ireland, each of whose bodies, the constituent body and the confidential board have voted a resolution of thanks to Dr. Milner for his manly, upright, and conscientious conduct. We have no occasion to weigh the respective merits of Charles Butler and Dr. Milner. Were we to do so, we should be bound to take in the whole history and context of their lives, as well as the present isolated passage in them, and perhaps we should, in such a comparison give our preference to Mr. Butler, chiefly because we always have liked a moderate religionist, better than a zealous polemic. Moderation in religion, but ardour in patriotism is, with us, the grand criterion of character. But we know well that the present is not a question respecting individual character. Were it so, the characters of Mr. Butler, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Whitbread would decide the whole matter over a cup of coffee in one morning. Are the Catholics of England here? *Here*, says Mr. Butler. Catholics of Ireland, answer to your name. *Here*, says Mr. Grattan. Protestants of the established church! *Here*, says Mr. Whitbread. But where is public opinion, where is the common-sense of the community? "That is, as *hereafter* it may turn out, but in the meantime let us complete the bill, and Mr. Plunket, our *smoothing iron*, as soon as he goes over, will decypher their destiny to the Irish people."

But the British Parliament has rejected the bill, and the Irish people have rejected the bill, and we doubt not that before next session the committee appointed to draw up the heads of another bill will feel the necessity of consulting the country chiefly concerned in it, as well as Mr. Canning and Lord Castlereagh. The delay will not be fatal, but rather propitious to future success, it will be the criterion of constancy in friendship, of unabated ardour, and courageous perseverance, and (no trifling consideration,) we shall be delighted and instructed, warmed and invigorated by more of the manly eloquence of Mr. O'Connell. He stands in a conspicuous station, the guide and Pharos of the country. The distressed mariners discover the guardian light. They bless it, and clap their hands, and say to each other, *there* is our protector to a secure harbour and a happy home.

In how garbled a state much of our information from the Continent reaches us, may be seen from the following fact, stated on the authority of the last number of Phillips' Monthly Magazine: "Owing to the *reaction* of political animosity, the intercourse with the continent became a few years since so uncertain and dangerous, that the newspapers found it difficult, and always very costly, to procure foreign intelligence. As high a sum as £.50, and even £.60, was frequently paid by a single paper, or by a union of two or three papers; for any series of new foreign gazettes. There seemed, in fact, to be no limits to the competition that might be excited among the rival papers, nor to the cupidity of masters of vessels, who smuggled the documents from shore to shore. At length, as a measure of self-defence, the proprietors united in an arrangement with the Post-office, through

which, in future, they were to be supplied simultaneously with the same extracts from the French papers. The terms were to be 84 guineas per week. None of the editors, therefore, see the foreign papers from which they publish their extracts; and we are told, the inspection of them has been denied, when desired on particular occasions. In stating these facts, however, we blame no one for making, imposing, or submitting to arrangements, which, under all the circumstances, might be unavoidable. Our sole object is simply to enable the public correctly to estimate and qualify the credit which is due to foreign intelligence so selected, and fully to understand the present mode in which it is brought before them. The selectors and translators may do impartial justice; but in all questions in which truth is to be separated from falsehood, we like to take as little as possible on trust."

Among the Documents will be found some very interesting articles. Sir Francis Burdett's letter to the Electors of Westminster, in a tone ill adapted to please the modish mawkishness of the times, breathes a bold and spirited language. The address of the town of Bedford pays a justly merited tribute to the virtues of their honest representative, Samuel Whitbread. To oblige a correspondent, who some time ago asked for it, the article of the treaty of Utrecht is given; an article now of considerable importance, as the French demand it as the basis of a maritime peace, and the British ministry, it is said, refuse to recognize the principle in a future treaty. Some important information is also communicated on vaccination, a subject of high importance to the interests of man, and which, if things were estimated according to their real value, would rank much higher

in public opinion, than the contrivances calculated to spread devastation in the earth. Of the same kind, tending to promote the benevolent feelings, may be ranked the speeches of Richard Lovell Edgeworth, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and the Duke of Bedford, at the meetings of the Lancasterian Institution. It is hoped those speeches will afford satisfactory information on the origin and progress of the Board of Education in Ireland, the members of which, with the Primate at their head, so honourably advocate the cause of communicating the benefits of education, without incumbering it, and defeating its beneficial tendency by attempts at proselytism, and to promote the pre-eminence of a sect. These speeches are selected from a larger mass, in which, according to the characteristics of the Lancasterian system, constituting its essential blemish, and affording a great draw-back on its general merits, "man praises man." Princes and Dukes praise one another, and Lancaster; while Lancaster, in his turn, praises Kings, Princes, and Dukes. Lancaster has done much good. It is a pity he obscures his real usefulness by too much pomposity, and the overflowings of vanity.

The dinner given in London, by the friends of religious freedom, to the Catholic Delegates from Ireland, afforded a seasonable opportunity to the Duke of Sussex to denounce the flagitious attempt to introduce the Orange system into England, and we sincerely hope, that if the iniquitous measure is persisted in, he will redeem his pledge of bringing the affair before the House of Lords.

The exposé of the finances of the Irish government affords matter for gloomy speculation, the annual expenditure being 16 millions, and the income little more than five. In the

debate on the subject in the House of Commons, the Irish government was charged with winking at abuses for the purpose of upholding a corrupt patronage, particularly in an affair of eluding the stamp duties, by one in a high judicial situation.

The Aggregate meeting on the 15th instant, which may be deemed as the *head-level* of Catholic sentiment, resolved, forthwith, to renew their petition to legislature, for the total and *unqualified* repeal of the penal statutes, considering themselves entitled, on the broad principle of *right* and justice, to the full enjoyment of the constitution, on equal terms with their fellow subjects. They express their warm gratitude to their liberal fellow citizens of other persuasions, and tender, in their turn, their *oaths of allegiance*, their past merits and forbearances, and their assistance in saving the sinking state. Equal constitutional rights, unconditional, unstipulated, unpurchased are their objects; for the attainment of which they confide in an over-ruling providence, in the growing liberality and wisdom of their fellow citizens, and in their own firmness and perseverance. They repeat their exhortation to all Catholic freeholders, not to vote for candidates who have lent, or are likely to lend their support to any administration hostile to religious freedom. They agree, with the generous sympathy of Irishmen, to an address to the Princess of Wales; and, suffering themselves, they are taught by nature, and lessoned by experience, to feel for all that suffer, more feelingly perhaps in a case where the *personal* may be paralleled with the *public* persecution, in the inveteracy of unjust crimination, in the base and artful atrocity of means made use of, in the long-suffering and patient perseverance, and, at length, in the re-

action of generous nature and unconquerable spirit, asserting before the assembled world, the sovereignty of its honesty and its honour. It was also resolved, that there should be an address prepared by the Catholic Board, to their fellow subjects of the British Empire; and in this magnanimous Appeal to Public opinion, liberated, as it may be, from the restrictive formalities of Petition, we trust, that they may confound their adversaries, thoroughly convince the whole people, quicken the tardy justice of Parliament, and, amidst the strife of state papers, alliances, coalitions, armistices, and renewals of hostilities, there may be lifted up to public view, one pure and patriotic document, unsullied by blood-shed, spoliation, monopoly, and deceit.

Thus the whole result of this session, in which Great Britain has been driven, by the chastening hand of adversity, to fall back upon her resources; in which she has been reforming, for *her own* ultimate advantage, the mighty empire of India, and endeavouring to reconcile, as she can, the sovereignty and controul of a chartered company with a free port trade, and private competition; in which, after translating the Bible into fifty or sixty barbarous languages, she is about to send out Missionary Societies to convert the Hindoo population, ground, as they are, to dust, by the exorbitancy of a land-tax, into readers and believers of the good book; in which, after paying 58 millions during 21 years to foreign powers for grain, she has now determined to impose a duty on the importation of foreign grain, (increasing as the price of the article lowers,) for the purpose of stimulating the agriculture of the country to depend on itself for its daily bread; the whole result, we say, of this session, busied through the world, has been, *with respect to Ireland*, of

which its Chancellor of the Exchequer says, "that unless a decrease of expenditure took place, it would be difficult to proceed in the administration of the revenue to the purpose of government, the yearly revenue amounting to five millions, and sixteen millions of supply being annually required;" and then concludes by laying on additional taxes amounting to £.610,000; the whole result, we repeat, of this operose session, with regard to Ireland's claim of equal privileges to balance her more than equal burthens, is a *bit of a bill* introduced by the Duke of Norfolk, and assented to by the ministry, for explaining the Irish act of 1793, and relieving the Irish officers under the rank of Colonel, who may land in England, from the penalties of the English Test Act, although, by a strange anomaly, it is still preclusive to English Catholics, as well as to Irish Protestant Dissenters.

The war in the North of Germany has been bloody in its progress, and rapid in its results. In the calculation of human suffering, decisive battles are perhaps preferable to dilatory campaigns. Whatever reasons Bonaparte may have had to protract the war in the Peninsula, he seems to have proceeded on very different principles in his contest with Russia and Prussia; but, disregarding the diversion of Sweden on the one side, and the threatening neutrality of Austria on the other, he has, by three bloody battles of Bautzen, Wurtchsen, and Reichenbach, advanced from Saxony into Silesia, relieved the blockaded fortresses, occupied Breslaw, advanced upon Berlin; and then probably through the mediation of Austria and her assent to a congress, (to which assuredly Great Britain will, when its articles are settled, receive a card of invitation, directed to Lord Castlereagh,) the French

Emperor agrees to an *armistice* to continue until the 20th July, which puts him in quiet possession of all Saxony, secures the confederation of the Rhine, opens a free communication with his supplies of every description, and terminates successfully a campaign, in which, at its commencement, the success of the allies was so confidently and loudly predicted. England is not consulted. Before the campaign, she is asked for advice, for money, for all sorts of military assistance, but during the campaign, and at its close her advice would have been taken, but that there is then little time, and less inclination. She has been well called the cat's-paw of coalitions.

Sweden is no party in the armistice; and as her co-operation with the allied armies depended by treaty with Russia, on the preliminary conquest of Norway, it is not unlikely that Bernadotte, or Charles Jean, as he now is called, may remain a quiet spectator, rather than take any part in the contest of the contending powers. After paying him a million, ceding Guadaloupe, which by the law of nations there is no right to cede, there the Crown-Prince is at Stralsund, without a man to join him, without a friend to open his heart to—except the Duke of Cumberland, certainly in himself an auxiliary host. By the treaty of Sweden and England, the former is to supply 30,000 troops to co-operate with Russia, and to grant the right of entrepot in three ports to Britain, in return for which, she is to receive one million, the first 200,000 in advance, and the next on the landing of the auxiliary army; she is to get possession of Guadaloupe, and not to separate their mutual interests, particularly those of Sweden, in any negotiation whatever with their common enemies. By the treaty of Russia with Swe-

den, the former power in return for the latter making a diversion with 30,000 men, engages by negotiation or by military co-operation to unite the kingdom of Norway to Sweden, but offers to the King of Denmark an indemnity in Germany, if he will join the alliance, and if he will not, in that case he is to be treated as an enemy.

And thus it is that spoliations, and partitions of kingdoms are made at the supreme will and pleasure of neighbouring powers, who follow Bonaparte's example, or rather the example first set to Bonaparte, in the execrated partition of Poland; and all the reason they can assign is, that the *geography* of the case is in their favour. Thus Lord Clare, in the year 1800, appealed to the *map* as an irrefragable proof, that Ireland must be incorporated with Great Britain. Hamburgh is re-occupied by the French, who intend to turn that commercial entrepot, into a strong military station: the persons of the inhabitants are spared, but they are to be punished severely in their purses, and the seat of war in Germany will have to sustain the burthen of successive armies, who thus endeavour to exonerate their own territories.

The armistice will, we think, conclude in a congress under the mediation of Austria. The business of that congress is by this time agreed upon, and although Great Britain may be invited to the continental assembly of sovereign powers, it is too probable, that the article in the treaty of Utrecht, (which we have inserted among the Documents,) will become the grand basis of the future peace. Peace for which Humanity has so long panted in vain. But if our ministry be represented in the congress, will peace be their result? It may be so, for nothing has succeeded according to their wishes.

Their minister for foreign affairs forms coalitions, and they burst like balloons overcharged with inflammable gas. He touches bills of relief at home, and instantly they turn into dust. Imprudent and unfortunate are two words for the same thing, and with such a course of misfortune, no man, however apparently well qualified, ought to continue, or rather be continued a minister.

By the dismissal of such a ministry, by the choice of such men as Lord Holland and Mr. Whitbread as envoys to the Congress on the continent, Great Britain would be well represented. But if she takes her place in that assembly, she must be prepared for sacrifices distressing to her long habits of assumption. It has always been our firm conviction, that what she calls her maritime rights, are founded upon an untenable principle, the principle of monopoly, the principle that makes every merchant a monopolist at heart. Those cannot be *rights* in ourselves, which are *wrongs* to the rest of the world. Let the high road be free to the market of the world. The darling doctrine of sovereignty on the ocean, is the rotten plank which renders even the British navy insecure. Great Britain can never be suffered in the present rapid progression of mankind to a knowledge of their true interests, to act as an *exclusive company*. The period of her charter is over. The right of property, liberty, security, and equality, these are the true foundations of the commercial code; not the code of selfish factors, who look no farther than to buy cheap in order to sell dear, but the code that finds its own interest best promoted by the common interest, its own fund of profit in the increased ability of the consumer, whether an individual or a nation, and its own ultimate advantage, by surrounding and encircling the

whole earth with a zone of RECIPROCAL UTILITY. Adam Smith has long taught this lesson, which he also borrowed from writers on the continent, but often as he has been quoted, his doctrine is little practised, and still floats loosely in the common-sense of the community. The mercantile system will not long maintain itself against the instinctive and universal impulse now given to the universal mind, in the pursuit of its own welfare, independent of exclusive trade, and mercenary monopoly.

"Que rien, (we quote from the origin of Adam Smith,) que rien n'oppose à la marche naturelle et provisoire des avances, du travail, de la production, de la distribution, de la consommation, et de la reproduction. Voilà la Loi et les Prophètes. Voilà l'économie politique, l'économie sociale, l'économie domestique, enfin l'économie publique et particulière. Tout la justice, et tout l'ordre se réduisent à cela."

By the progress of time, and the proceedings of the war, the contest between Great Britain and the United States of America is greatly aggravated. How much more easily might the points in dispute have been settled at the commencement of last year! The Americans, after repeated defeats at land, have succeeded in taking York, the capital of Upper Canada, which some accounts state they have since abandoned. The Americans have gained some success at sea, which will tend to stimulate them more strongly to adhere to their maritime claims, that free bottoms make free goods, and that their sailors should not be subject to British impress, which claims, it may be expected, will be strongly urged at the Congress for peace in Germany. In the mean time, the British fleet occasionally attack the towns on the American coast,

and it now appears, that the Americans are alarmed for the safety of Baltimore. If a town of such magnitude should be destroyed, so deplorable an event would greatly increase the hostility of the public mind in America, towards Britain. They would then remember Baltimore, as the Danes now recollect the attack on Copenhagen.

The "burn, sink, and destroy" system of maritime war, unhappily transferred to land operations, on the continental coast of America by the British forces, and on the continent of Europe by the licence of legal governments, is a most unhappy aggravation of the calamities of war, which, on both continents, seems to degenerate into Indian manners, and savage morality. We find a report of the blockading squadrons on the American coast having left their stations, and we are willing to hope, that some armistice, preparatory to treaty, may have taken place in that part of the world. We are not among those who would wish the four corners of the world set in flames; rather than negotiate a ge-

neral peace with Napoleon. Two envoys of high character, Messrs. Gallatin and Bayard, are at present on their passage to Europe, and will probably represent the Republic of America in the Congress of Emperors and Kings. Surely a gilt card of invitation (however long delayed,) will yet be sent to my Lord Castle-reagh. Surely he will not be put into a diplomatic "coventry," after having done so much in ratifying the chaffering and changing of territories, made by Russia and Sweden, without their ever once deigning to consult the inclinations of the poor people, who are handed over, like the Russian serfs, attached as live-stock to the estate. America will then take its sovereign station in the European Congress; and it is to be concluded, that inasmuch as she protests against exclusive maritime rights; she will identify herself with the predominant influence of that congress, thus disengaging herself from particular negotiation with Britain, and the formation of any SEPARATE PEACE.

AGRICULTURAL REPORT.

From the 20th May to the 20th June, 1813.

The seasonable rains which fell about the beginning of this month have greatly improved the crops; the flax in particular, which for several weeks had a very unfavourable appearance, has been much benefited by them, and although, in general reckoned thinner than usual, is likely to be more productive than was expected; the quantity sown is thought to be not much more than half of the average of other years.

The wheat and oat crops, in a general way, look well; a smaller quantity of barley has been sown this season than usual, owing, as is believed, to the farmers having, by the great price of wheat been induced to employ the principal part of their best land in that grain; of course, barley may be expected to be high at market this season.

The potato crops were generally planted in good time, and have a promising appearance, and there is a prospect of an abundant crop of hay, both of the natural and artificial grasses.

Provisions have very unexpectedly advanced in price in the course of this month; oatmeal, which at one time was so low as from 20 to 24 shillings, now brings from 23 to 29 shillings per cwt., and potatoes in some districts are selling so high as ten-pence per stone.